

## BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH - ANALYSIS - JANUARY 26, 1982

1. JARUZELSKI'S SPEECH: A GESTURE BUT NOT A PROGRAM

In a generally moderate speech to the parliament yesterday, Jaruzelski promised to lift most martial law restrictions by the end of February provided the internal situation continued to improve. Despite predictions by Polish officials, the speech did not outline a broad blueprint for Poland's future. The paucity of initiatives suggests that the debate within the regime has not ended.

Jaruzelski's nearly two-hour speech appears to have been largely an apologia for martial law. He said martial law "ought to be lifted by the end of next month" but restrictions affecting industry "must be maintained for a longer period." He stressed that he would yield to "neither the calendar nor pressure from outside."

Under pressure from the Polish church and the international community, Jaruzelski evidently felt the need to indicate his intentions. The timetable he announced, however, is not binding. On the contrary, he served notice that the full weight of martial law could be reimposed if resistance flared.

Among other points:

--Western sanctions would ultimately hit the people and not the government; the attitude of those Western nations that "understood our situation" would not be forgotten.

--Jaruzelski had not lost "hope" that US policy would return to "realism."

--He rejected the "insinuation" that martial law was "imposed on us" and argued that it was "our own decision, based on our own assessment, and implemented by our own powers."

--Jaruzelski objected to attempts at raising the Polish question in international fora and indicated that Poland would boycott any conference where it would "have to appear as a defendant."

--The releasing of the 4,549 persons currently interned, would depend on their abandoning their activities (presumably this means they would have to sign loyalty oaths as did the 1,760 who have been freed).

Jaruzelski had little new to say about Solidarity's future or about a resumption of the dialogue with the union and the Church. In an effort to sound evenhanded, he reiterated the idea of a tribunal to try former party officials. He also jabbed at those hardliners who are seeking revenge under the "smoke screen of martial law."

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State Dept. review completed